

Message Text

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S E C R E T STATE 182954 TOSEC 080086

NODIS
FOR THE SECRETARY FROM CHRISTOPHER

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS), PFOR

SUBJECT: EVENING READING

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF WEDNESDAY'S EVENING READING:

1. IMPLICATIONS OF MAKARIOS' DEATH. ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS REPRESENTED STABILITY AND COHESION FOR CYPRUS. HIS DEATH AFTER 17 YEARS AS PRESIDENT LEAVES HIS GREEK-CYPRIOI COMMUNITY LEADERLESS AND SUSCEPTIBLE TO EXTREME FRACTIONALIZATION. THE LARGE LEFT AND RIGHT WING PARTIES ON THE ISLAND, WHICH WERE HELD TOGETHER TENUOUSLY BY MAKARIOS, ARE ALMOST CERTAIN TO GO THEIR OWN WAY. THE SUCCESSOR GOVERNMENT IS EXPECTED TO BE WEAK AND UNCERTAIN OF ITS OWN AUTHORITY AND UNWILLING OR UNABLE TO CONTINUE ACTIVE NEGOTIATIONS FOR A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT.

THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT AND THE TURKISH CYPRIOT COMMUNITY
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WILL BE ATTENTIVELY WATCHING DEVELOPMENTS ON THE SOTH SOUTHERN PART OF THE ISLAND AND WE DO NOT EXCLUDE SOME ACTIVIST MOVEMENT ON THEIR PART IF FUTURE EVENTS ARE NOT TO THEIR LIKING. THE GREEK GOVERNMENT, DESPITE ITS RELUCTANCE TO IMMERSE ITSELF MORE DEEPLY IN CYPRUS, MAY BE FORCED TO DO SO AND MAY FIND IT NECESSARY TO DEAL DIRECTLY WITH THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT ABOUT THE FUTURE OF THE DIVIDED ISLAND. THUS,

WHILE THE IMMEDIATE PROSPECTS ARE NOT PROMISING THEY COULD LEAD TO DEVELOPMENTS OVER A LONGER PERIOD THAT WILL FACILITATE RESOLUTION OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM.

2. GERMAN REACTION TO EVANS AND NOVAK STORY. THE GERMAN EMBASSY CHARGE HAS INFORMED US THAT, WHEN THE EVANS AND NOVAK STORY ON PRM-10 BROKE IN EUROPE, FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER PERSONALLY TELEPHONED THE CHARGE TO CONVEY THE FOLLOWING LINE WHICH THE FRG WILL TAKE WITH THE PRESS:

-- WHAT COUNTS FOR THE FRG IS WHAT PRESIDENT CARTER HIMSELF SAYS;

-- THE PRESIDENT AT THE NATO SUMMIT IN MAY STRESSED SUPPORT FOR FLEXIBLE RESPONSE AND FORWARD DEFENSE;

-- THIS COMMITMENT WAS FURTHER REITERATED DURING THE CHANCELLOR'S RECENT VISIT TO WASHINGTON.

THIS FIRM GERMAN LINE PARALLELS THE STANCE WE ARE TAKING IN REAFFIRMING NATO STRATEGY, AND SHOULD HELP TO MITIGATE THE DAMAGE FROM THE EVANS AND NOVAK STORY.

3. BELGRADE PREPARATORY MEETING. REPRESENTATIVES AT THE BELGRADE CSCE PREPARATORY MEETING TODAY AGREED
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TO RECOMMEND TO GOVERNMENTS A FINAL DOCUMENT WHICH MEETS ALL OF OUR FUNDAMENTAL GOALS ON AGENDA AND ORGANIZATION FOR THE MAIN CSCE MEETING THIS FALL. THE MEETING WILL BEGIN ON OCTOBER 4, WITH A TENTATIVE CLOSING DATE OF DECEMBER 22. THE FINAL PACKAGE INCLUDES CLEAR PROVISION FOR A FULL REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION AS WELL AS DISCUSSION OF NEW PROPOSALS; HAS FIRM LANGUAGE ON THE INTENTION TO HOLD ANOTHER FOLLOW-UP MEETING; SETS UP WORKING GROUPS WHERE THERE CAN BE A DETAILED REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION AND OTHER ISSUES; AND MAKES IT REASONABLY CLEAR THAT THE CONFERENCE WILL NOT CONCLUDE UNTIL ALL PARTIES ARE SATISFIED THAT IT HAS COMPLETED ITS WORK. I HAVE GIVEN AMBASSADOR SHERER A TENTATIVE GO-AHEAD TO ACCEPT THESE ARRANGEMENTS.

ASSUMING THE DETAILS WHICH ARE BEING CABLED CONFORM TO WHAT WE HAVE LEARNED BY PHONE, I PLAN TO GIVE FINAL CLEARANCE. IN COMMENTS TO THE PRESS WE ARE NOTING OUR SATISFACTION WITH THE RESULTS AND OUR JUDGMENT THAT THE FINAL DOCUMENT PROVIDES A FIRM BASIS FOR USEFUL AND DETAILED DISCUSSIONS IN BELGRADE THIS FALL. NOW THAT THE PREPARATORY MEETING HAS CONCLUDED, WE WILL BE STEPPING UP THE PACE OF WORK ON THE FALL MEETING.

4. THE SITUATION IN THE OGADEN. THE SOMALIS NOW APPEAR TO CONTROL ABOUT TWO-THIRDS OF THE OGADEN. GIVEN EXISTING SOMALI MILITARY DEPLOYMENTS, THE THREE MAJOR GARRISON TOWNS REMAINING IN ETHIOPIAN HANDS ARE IN NO IMMINENT DANGER, ALTHOUGH SOMALI INSURGENT FORCES CONTINUE THEIR EFFORTS TO CUT OFF COMMUNICATIONS AMONG THEM. HOWEVER, SHOULD REGULAR TROOPS BASED IN NORTHERN SOMALI MOVE IN FORCE ACROSS THE BORDER WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF TAKING THE TOWNS, ALL THREE WOULD PROBABLY FALL AFTER A PERIOD.

THE LOSS OF THE THREE TOWNS WOULD NOT PRECLUDE AN EVENTUAL ETHIOPIAN COUNTERMOVE, BUT IT WOULD DELAY IT AND MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT. POLITICALLY, IT COULD PROVIDE AN OCCASION
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FOR A POLITICAL MOVE BY THE SOMALIS, SUCH AS THE FORMAL DECLARATION OF AN "OGADEN REPUBLIC" BY THE INSURGENTS OR EVEN AN ANNEXATION BY SOMALIA. THE FALL OF THE TOWNS PROBABLY WOULD NOT IN ITSELF BE LIKELY TO CAUSE THE OVERTHROW OF MENGISTU; IT WOULD WEAKEN HIS AUTHORITY, BUT HIS RIVALS APPEAR FULLY AS COMMITTED TO TRY TO HOLD THE OGADEN AS IS HE.

AT YOUR REQUEST, WE ARE STUDYING THE CONSEQUENCES OF A U.S. DECISION NOT TO SUPPLY ARMS TO SOMALIA, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE EXTREMELY FLUID SITUATION IN THE HORN, THE EVIDENCE THAT THE ETHIOPIANS ARE BECOMING DISAFFECTED WITH THE SOVIETS AS ARMS SUPPLIERS, AND WHAT WE CAN DISCERN OF PRESIDENT SIAD'S INTENTIONS TOWARD THE SOVIETS.

5. NORTH KOREA PROCLAIMS MILITARY SEA ZONE. WE HAVE TOLD THE NORTH KOREANS AT PANMUNJOM THAT WE DO NOT ACCEPT THEIR UNILATERAL PROCLAMATION OF A MILITARY ZONE EXTENDING SOME 60 MILES FROM EACH COAST. WE DO NOT ANTICIPATE THAT THE NORTH KOREAN ACTION IS THE BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF HARASSMENT OR PROVOCATION AND, IN RESPONSE TO PRESS QUERIES, WE HAVE ADDRESSED THE ISSUE CALMLY. HOWEVER, WE HAVE MADE CLEAR THAT WE DO NOT RECOGNIZE UNILATERAL DECLARATIONS ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD WHICH WOULD LIMIT FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION AND OVERFLIGHT OF THE HIGH SEAS.

THE SOUTH KOREANS HAVE TREATED THIS MATTER MORE SERIOUSLY AND ATTEMPTED TO PORTRAY IT AS A THREAT, PARTICULARLY TO THE SOUTH KOREAN ISLANDS WITHIN NORTH KOREAN TERRITORIAL WATERS NORTHWEST OF SEOUL. WITH OUR CONCURRENCE, A SCHEDULED SOUTH KOREAN RESUPPLY VESSEL WITH THE CUSTOMARY MILITARY ESCORT MADE A TRIP TO THE ISLANDS YESTERDAY WITHOUT INCIDENT. COUPLED WITH OUR NOTIFICATION AT PANMUNJOM,
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WE FEEL THE SOUTH KOREAN MOVE IS AN ADEQUATE RESPONSE
FOR THE PRESENT.

APART FROM ITS EFFECT ON THE SITUATION IN KOREA, WE ARE
CONCERNED ABOUT THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE NORTH KOREAN
ACTION FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF CUSTOMARY INTERNATIONAL LAW
AND FOR THE LAW OF THE SEA NEGOTIATIONS, WHERE WE HAVE
THUS FAR SUCCESSFULLY DEFENDED FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION AND
OVERFLIGHT BEYOND THE TERRITORIAL SEA.

6. SENATOR INOUE. SUBJECT TO YOUR APPROVAL, I
BELIEVE AN ACCOMMODATION HAS BEEN REACHED WITH SENATOR
INOUE. WHAT I HAVE DONE IS TO TAKE THE CRUCIAL
LANGUAGE FROM THE JUNE 10 GILLIGAN LETTER AND INSERT IT
IN THE JUNE 27 LETTER, WHICH WOULD READ AS FOLLOWS,
AS REVISED:

BEGIN QUOTE. BASED ON OUR DISCUSSIONS REGARDING
REPROGRAMMING OF APPROPRIATED FUNDS, AND IN A CONTINUING
DESIRE TO WORK CLOSELY AND CONSTRUCTIVELY WITH THE
SENATE COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS IN OUR DEVELOPMENT
ASSISTANCE EFFORTS, I WANT TO INDICATE THAT, SHOULD
YOU FILE AN OBJECTION ON BEHALF OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE
ON FOREIGN OPERATIONS TO ANY NEW PROGRAMS, PROJECTS, OR
OTHER OPERATIONS NOT PREVIOUSLY JUSTIFIED TO THE
APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEES OF THE CONGRESS, I WOULD
WITHHOLD ACTION ON THAT PROJECT UNTIL WE HAVE HAD TIME
TO RESOLVE YOUR RESERVATIONS. THIS WOULD ALSO APPLY
TO ANY INCREASE IN THE AMOUNTS JUSTIFIED FOR ANY SUCH
INDIVIDUAL ITEMS. END QUOTE

I HAVE READ THIS NEW VERSION TO BOB LIPSCHUTZ
WHO FINDS IT ACCEPTABLE TO RESOLVE THE PROBLEM THIS YEAR.
SENATOR INOUE ALSO APPROVED, SAYING HE WANTED TO
COOPERATE WITH YOU. CHRISTOPHER

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